



Portugal

As Festas do Divino Espírito Santo são um contributo para a ecologia do espírito humano dos participantes de duas co-culturas, a Luso-americana e a Americana de Lusa-descendência

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Setubalense de nascimento, lisboeta por vocação, aveirense por convicção, lecciona na Universidade de Aveiro, desde 1987. Licenciada em comunicação social e em educação de infância e, como tal, foi bolsista de investigação do Serviço de Educação da Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian. Foi autora e apresentadora de programas infanto-juvenis na RTP e na Emissora Nacional. Foi, ainda, técnica superior da Secretaria de Estado da Comunicação Social. Membro fundador da Civitas Aveiro – Associação de Defesa e Promoção dos Direitos dos Cidadãos.

Professora Associada da Universidade de Aveiro. Autora de vários projectos de investigação. Regente de várias disciplinas, teorias da comunicação, sociologia da comunicação, Comunicação institucional, Teoria dos media, Media e Sociedade de vários cursos do 1º, 2º e 3º ciclos de estudos da Universidade de Aveiro. Durante o seu ano sabático (2004) desenvolveu um estudo sobre as Festas do Divino Espírito Santo em comunidades da Costa Leste dos EUA, apoiada pela Brown University e pelo LusoCentro do Bristol Community College.

Autora e coordenadora de projectos transdisciplinares de âmbito regional, nacional e internacional financiados pela ONU, Sapó | PT, FCT, Fundação de Serralves, Fundação Gulbenkian, Ministério do Desenvolvimento Rural e das Pescas. Tendo-se concentrado no estudo do processo da Comunicação Humana, Ludicidade Humana e Comunicação Institucional publicou um conjunto de 177 textos científicos integrados em capítulos de livros e artigos em publicações com revisão: 15 publicações em livros ou revistas internacionais. 72 Publicações em actas de reuniões científicas/congressos internacionais. 26 Publicações em livros ou revistas nacionais. 18 Publicações em actas de reuniões científicas/congressos nacionais. E, 24 livros.



Resumo da Comunicação

This paper results from a study carried out in 2005 in communities that contain Luso-Americans: people born in Portugal who emigrated to the USA over 30 years ago and who are American citizens or hold dual nationality; Americans: born in the USA but of Portuguese descent and living in the East Providence and Fall River areas.

The purpose of this study was to construct an understanding of the Festivities of the Divine Holy Spirit as an essential context for the process of building co-cultural identities.



The thesis that we defend is that the Festivities of the Divine Holy Spirit (FDHS), as unique manifestations of communication, ludicity and experience for those that participate in them, are essential learning and change processes that actively contribute to the construction of the Luso-American and Luso-descendant American co-cultures. Thus, we believe that the FDHS in the USA are an integral part of the ecology of the human spirit of each of the participants, independent of which co-culture they belong to. They generate inter-understanding and serve to calm tensions that arise from the double-consciousness created by the differentiated socialisation taking place in the Luso-American and the Luso-descendant American co-cultures.

Given the case study methodology used, the location and limited number of participants in the sample, 303 subjects with ages ranging from 5 to 88, we do not claim that the outcomes of this study are scientifically generalisable to the diversity and multiplicity of the realities of all the FDHS celebrated in the United States. However, we do believe that the results indicate trends that a wider study would be able to better explore. Data was collected using questionnaires and interviews and data collection took place between January and June 2005, during the Festivities of the Divine Holy Spirit. Analysis of this data has allowed us to draw the conclusions that we would like to put forward for discussion at this congress.



1. the beginning: the construction of co-culture in understanding the Festivities of the Divine Holy Ghost

The contexts in which the Festivities of the Divine Holy Spirit – FDHS are lived are like roundabouts around which values, rules, symbols, beliefs, faith, spoken words, heard words, written words, devotions, revelries, songs, gastronomy, emotions, reason, promises, offerings and sharing all travel and which manifest themselves in the communications between participants. In these one can find various dimensions which mark the identity differences between the two co-cultures. However, we believe that the FDHS act as frameworks to unite them.

Far from being a discriminatory vision of culture that hierarchises and tends towards conformity and homogenisation, the perspective that orients our work is that of an interactive approach that places personal interaction at the centre of the construction of a culture. Our work is informed by such authorities as Gregory Bateson (1977), (1980), (1988) who, in the field of the anthropology of communication, equates communication, learning, change and culture, emphasising both the inter-relational dimension to be found in all cultural grammars, on the one hand, and the semantic and pragmatic contents that constitute them, on the other. This is the way in which the sense of the interactions occurring between participants in the FDHS is interpreted, whichever culture they originate in. The contexts of interaction of the meeting rituals are fundamental as it is in these that the participants both construct the systems that guide their individual and collective lives and explain their feelings and the uniqueness of the rituals' contents and dynamics.

However, we need to mention that in this process of co-cultural construction there is coexistence of a certain degree of ethnocentrism and a certain cultural relativism. These two methodological principles offer the opportunity to learn about the dialectic 'I' and the 'Other'. The ethnocentric vision of culture as a sociological phenomenon is connected to the unique experience of those that share the celebration of the FDHS and who, thus, bolster the preservation and defence of the community's identity. In relation to this, Pierre Bourdieu points out the relevance of this methodological principle in specific phases of the study: "I



am convinced that a certain form of ethnocentrism, if we can thus call the reference to our own experience, to our own practices, can condition true understanding; on the condition, obviously, that this reference be conscious and controlled” (1985:79). As regards cultural relativism, we would like to emphasise the social recognition of the value of each co-culture and the respect that is owed to each of these co-cultures.

1.1 Co-culture as score

The metaphor of musical score serves to describe the process of co-construction of each of the co-cultures: Luso-American and Luso-descendent American. In contrast to the musical score, used by the conductor in directing the musicians, the co-cultural score is constructed a posteriori, given that it results from the orchestration of the interactive performances of the participants. These latter, on sharing a given context and situation set up pacts between them which define the situation they are in and make sense of their interactions and the way in which their behaviours should be understood.

The co-cultural process is an orchestral process of learnings and changes which the participants in a situation live through together and in which they face up to the plural, unstable, chaotic and heterogenic nature of the co-culture. However, it is also how, through the strength of their symbols, they find security, coherence, balance and cohesion in their interactions. Despite all this, and despite the unpredictability of the combinatory effects that, together, establish harmonisation – inter-understanding – it is the ideal that they seek, in the co-construction of this score.

It is the priming of the interpersonal interactions, of people acting on each other, of their value systems, their symbols and their behaviours that allows communicational orchestration and the construction of the co-cultural score. It is on the basis of this score that the participants in the FDHS guide their daily behaviours, whether in the social field of the community they belong to or in the wider, substantially different, social field.

Based on the above, and to round off this point, we submit a contribution to the definition of co-culture. We define it as referring to the individual and collective procedures that reveal common features, in the individual in which each person treats themselves, others and the world and this in the world that they live and which lives in them. It is a daily and unsettlingly renewed co-construction. It is multiform and disseminated, difficult to perceive outside its processes of co-construction. It reveals itself as the art of DIY, a metaphor used by Lévi-Strauss (1962) who divided cultural processes into those which are consumed and others in the process of being transformed. Co-culture can, therefore, be defined as the result of the social interactions grafted together by the closely stitched effect, on the everyday lives of the protagonists, of the contexts and situations in which they reconnect the matrices of their identities as linked to various cultures. In this way, it may be, functionally, dominated. This would lead to the need for the dominated, at the same time that they are discovering the socially accepted procedures within the dominant culture, to learn these, learning how to learn how to deal with them while they, simultaneously, learn to learn how they learned this change, without loss of autonomy or the consolidation of the new identity by which they are differentiated. Domination and autonomy, identity and difference, learning, change and double consciousness are inseparable in the ensemble constituted by interaction and collective memory. The score so constructed is revealing of this and is reflected in the affirmations “I am this way”, “I belong here”, “I am from here and from there”, “This is how I see myself and wish to be seen”. Such a way of being is multidimensional, re-rooted in concrete existence. Double consciousness is one of the dominant features of each of the co-cultures and in the FDHS they



find a special form of appeasement and well-being.

To help clarify the points made above, figure 1 shows the process of constructing Luso-American co-culture (Portuguese in origin with American citizenship or dual Portuguese and American citizenship).

Fig.1 Schematic representation of the process of constructing Luso-American co-culture



The centre, in yellow, represents the beginning of the process which is lived in the context of the host country, in this case the USA, and corresponds to the first stage which we call co-cultural approximation. This stage is made up of four phases: contact, familiarisation, withdrawal, conflict. The second stage arises from the first, which gives it direction and pertinence. It is distinguishable from the previous stage by its level of logical complexity. It is the stage at which the reframing of the experiences lived in the first stage takes place. The reflection on the experiences induces the construction of new learnings that lead to new practices of change in the personal system. This stage – reframing – has three phases: re-approximation, broadening, re-founding of identity. The third stage, which we have identified as Luso-American co-cultural identity consists of three phases: connection of identities, appeasement, well-being.

In this setting of social interactions, the Luso-American co-cultural identity alludes to an “I” which is involved in a permanent dialogue, whether between the “I” and the “Me”¹ or whether between the “I” and the world to which it belongs. It is in this dialogue that the FDHS attain a particular relevance as they facilitate co-cultural harmonisation. The FDHS form the meta-template that interlinks Luso-American and Luso-descendent American co-cultures. This template is dominated by the symbolic communication which acts as residual source for the expressivity of the double consciousness that regulates and balances individual and social behaviours that continue after the festivities have ended.

¹ The I has two facets, each of which plays a vital role in a person's life. George Mead, in his work mind, self and society (1934) called these “I” and “Me”. The “I” is the unique singular part, impulsive, disorganised, non-directed and unpredictable. The “Me” is the generalised other, composed of organised and consistent patterns that are shared with others, In this sense the I is the driving force behind actions while the Me offers direction and guidance. According to this writer, the Me explains socially acceptable behaviour and the I explains creative impulses. Together they constitute the SELF which is formed and developed through interaction with others and the world and in the valuation and assimilation of significant others.



1.2 Stages in the process of emigrating to the USA

In stating that the FDHS held in the USA constitute an integral part of the two co-cultures, we must, necessarily, take into account the migratory process experienced by those Portuguese who decide to leave home to go to North America.²

Given the range of this subject, and bearing in mind the point of our presentation, we limit ourselves to outlining the stages in the migratory process, following the lines of thought laid down by Colonel Vitor Alves³ regarding emigration to the United States. In his interview with us in March of 2008, this author stated: “in general terms, we may think of the history of migration between Portugal and the USA as consisting of four distinct migratory phases: the first, before 1974, was basically rooted in the difficult living conditions to be found in our country, conditions which were aggravated by the setting up of the New State. This instituted an unsustainable survival economy, the reining in of freedoms and the end of the war in the colonies. The second phase is the revolution of the 25th April 1974 which broke up the established power system and ushered in a new Portugal with new ideals that were attractive to the majority but detested by a minority. The third phase, in the 1980s, relates to the time when Portugal joined the European Community which, on improving living conditions in our own country, began to marginalise, to a certain extent, the “American dream”. The fourth stage, covering the end of the 20th Century and the beginning of the 21st, arises from the belief that Europe is technologically and scientifically backward, leading to a brain drain to the USA”.⁴ Vitor Alves also recognises a generational aspect to the relationship with the culture and language of Portugal. Thus, he identifies a first stage in which emigration was based on survival, corresponding to the 1st wave of emigrants who were subject to subhuman living conditions. The second stage consists of the children of the emigrants involved in this 1st wave. These enjoyed better living conditions thanks to their parents’ hard labour. They had, on the one hand, the impression that Portuguese culture was one of misery. On the other hand, and given that they were integrated into the American education system, their experience arose out of primary and secondary socialisation and the assimilation of new dimensions, of American culture, leading them to reject their origins. The third stage relates to the generation that is seeking out its roots, with the intention of understanding and celebrating them.

2. FDHS: Portuguese cultural heritage

The FDHS⁵ are unique manifestations of symbolic communication for those that participate in them. The origins of their institutionalisation in Portugal are disputed. They are generally believed to have been instituted by Holy Queen Isabel in Alenquer. However, Moisés Espírito

² According to Cardozo, emigration from the Azores to the United States goes back to the middle of the 19th Century. Although there was an Azorean presence in the country before this period, the systematic nature of such emigration can be traced to the second half of the 19th Century (Manoel da Silveira Cardozo, *The Portuguese in America* 590 B.C. -1974).

³ In addition to being one of the three members of the organising council for the Armed Forces Movement, he is also author of the following works: “Who is Who in the Portuguese communities”, published in 1989 and “Business Yearbook of Portuguese Communities”, published in 1992 at http://www.sg.min-edu.pt/expo03/min_09_alves/expo0.htm.

⁴ However, in all phases there was a migratory flow from Portugal to the USA, motivated by the “American dream, and a converse flow motivated by homesickness or improved living conditions..

⁵ For further reading on studies of the FDHS refer to the work by João Leal, *The Festivities of the Holy Spirit in the Azores: A Study in Cultural Anthropology*, Publicações D. Quixote, Coleção Portugal de Perto, n° 29, Lisbon, 1994. And, the work of Hélder Fonseca Mendes, *From the Holy Spirit to Trinity*, Editora Universidade Católica Portuguesa, 2006.



Santo does not accept this and claims that “it is absurd”, justifying his point by stating that “popular cults are not, nor ever have been, nor could they ever be “instituted” by decree or the will of an individual, whether a queen, blessed or sainted (...) as if the people needed orders from their superiors to celebrate! (...) Rituals, like religions, exclusively follow the dictates and dynamics of culture and are always embedded in tradition. That pedigree is an invention of Friar Manuel de Esperança, a Franciscan chronicler” (Santo,1988:114). Moreover, he adds that institutionalisation of the festivals by the Holy Queen “is also belied by the fact that certain coastal chapels dedicated to the Holy Spirit were already in existence when the queen was born.” Citing Rocha Beirtante, from his “500 years of Santarém”, the author states that the devotion to the “Holy Spirit in Santarém predates the Holy Queen” (ibid).

Furthermore, and according to the same author, the origins of the festivities of the Divine Holy Spirit are connected with the Harvest feast and the Oaths of the Canaanites. The feast is celebrated annually. It was the time for renewing contracts, oaths and promises between neighbouring tribes or between the people and God. The celebration of firm commitments manifested itself in various celebratory rituals which include community meals. This practice, which originated with the Canaanites, was later taken up by the Hebrews after they conquered Canaan. However, these celebrations also provided a means of ensuring order in both the fields and the crops, whether among Hebrew or Canaanite farmers. For the Jews, the Pentecost is the “feast of the Royalty” of God, of Israel and of the Messiah. It is currently known as Shavuot, which means to take an oath and enjoy abundance, and is the day on which the Giving of the Law of Sinai is celebrated (ibid:110.)

For Christianity, Pentecost is a symbolic manifestation, in tongues of fire, of the Holy Spirit which descended to the Apostles, who were meeting in the Cenacle in Jerusalem on the day of the Feast of the Pentecost.

Ignoring the controversies surrounding the origins of the FDHS, the brotherhoods and Empires of the Divine Holy Spirit in the USA set up the organisational structures for large-scale popular religiosity⁶ which would sum the individual and collective experiences of those who celebrate them.

Additionally, “a feast is a feast” and , in the uses that speakers of Portuguese make of the word we find a range of meanings present in the festive cycle of the Divine Holy Spirit. These meanings, which have found a place in the hearts of Luso-Americans and Luso-descendent Americans, include: solemnity, rest, joy, commemoration, jubilation, applause, caress, fatigue, care, holy day, seriousness, fun, happiness, ‘folia’ dance and, also, devotion and promise. The feast of the Divine Holy Spirit inhabits the sanctuary of existences that are uniquely common to Luso-Americans and Luso-descendent Americans. Moreover, it marks out the annual calendar for those who celebrate it. It follows the cycle of the catholic liturgy of the Pentecost. It is celebrated over seven weeks, with rituals⁷ which have great symbolic meaning and which realise expectations that have been fed throughout the year, in the case of this

⁶ Popular religiosity understood as permanence of the spirit and faithfulness of behaviour as regards beliefs, principles, standards that respect these individual beliefs or those of a community that shares and are faithful to them.

⁷ Rites and rituals – etymologically derived from *ritus* which means prescribed order. This word is associated with Greek forms such as *artus* which means organisation and from the word *ararisko* is derived. This means harmonise and adapt. Another derivation is *arthmos*, link or junction. In Portuguese, rite and ritual are sets of formalised acts, expressive guardians of a symbolic dimension. They affirm the collective dimension, make sense to those that share them, have a specific social field of action that involves marking breakpoints and discontinuities, critical moments (of passage) in both individual and collective time frames. They introduce a social efficacy, they order and disorder, they give meaning to the accidental and incomprehensible, offering the protagonists of these lived experiences the means to dominate evil, time and social relations. The essence of the ritual mixes individual time with collective time. Rituals are, still, symbolic acts manifested through language. They use symbols recognised by a given community. They are the results of learnings learned over the generations that produced them.



study, by Luso-Americans, of Azorean influence and particularly by those from S. Miguel. The veneration of the Divine is practised in private places, in the family homes of each of the feast masters responsible for each of the Sundays. It also takes place in the streets, with beautiful processions, parades and marches in which the hierarchy connected to the ritual is symbolically emphasised in the adornments and costumes of the celebrants.

The religiosity of the celebrants is evident in all the festive rituals, maintaining a direct line of communication with the Divine Holy Spirit.

Wisdom, understanding, science, counsel, strength, piety, fear are all gifts of the Divine Holy Spirit emphasised on the Sundays which precede and give continuity to the festive rituals that conclude on Trinity Sunday. However, the FDHS is not only lived through popular religiosity, religious worship of the Divine is mediated through the parish priest⁸, in the prayer invoking the Holy Spirit that is offered up before or after the praying of the rosary. The last part of this prayer is the “Act of Consecration of the Divine Holy Spirit and the Final Aspiration”. The prayer is read in all those houses in which the families have taken on the task of organising the Sunday: “Holy Spirit, finish the work that Jesus began in each one of us. Bring us quickly to a life filled with Your Spirit. Mortify in us any natural presumption. We wish to be simple, full of love for God and always generous. That no selfishness within us shall reduce the infinite extent of our love. Everything shall be writ large in us; as shall the veneration of truth and promptness in our duty until our death. That the outpouring of Your Spirit of Love shall come over us, over the church and over the whole world. So be it!”

We might ask, though, what the Holy Spirit, object of the veneration and the centrepiece of the feast, really is? We have identified two distinct notions, one linked to the biblical view: in which the Spirit is God and this is, according to Genesis 2:7, “the breath of Life”, which Moisés do Espírito Santo says is the most common perception and which he defines as “vital principle coming from God that animates people, animals, plants and the things on which these beings feed, such as water” (ibid. 109). Another (different) view, but one that coexists with this first, is the idea of a Holy Spirit linked to the Paraclete, invoked in the catholic liturgy, which descended over the Apostles at Pentecost.

The two views provide the substance that informs the speech and actions which, whether in the public or private sphere, mark, forever, the social field that frames the diversity of the various rituals in the multiple festive celebrations of the Divine Holy Spirit.

Many hours of personal time are given over to the FDHS. From the preparation to the festival itself, and in the reckoning of accounts when this has finished. The numerous necessary tasks are carried out by Luso-American families with Azorean links and the cultural and religious institutions with which they are affiliated. Everybody cooperates as one big family, whether in the small invisible tasks or in those that are much grander and socially visible. In preparing the chits for selling alms, in the tasks behind the ceremony of the “soups”, in decorating and adorning the room, in carrying chairs and tables “so that everyone might sit”, not forgetting the importance of organising the kitchen and the making of the meal so that everything will be just right for the ritual of the soups. Much art and ingenuity are needed, for the butchering of the animals, for dividing up the pieces for the alms to distribute, making the cakes, the rings of beaten pastry, the “forgotten” pastries, the sweet rice, the meringues, the bottling of the wine and the preparation of the festivity of the Trinity. Everything is carefully planned, even the unforeseen “I have lived through many of these feasts, since I was a young girl, and now I’m organising them” says Natividade, the President (2005). The programming and coordination of each action is overseen out by the council of the Brotherhood. And

⁸ Prayer kindly contributed by the Parish of the Holy Spirit in Falls River. Pope John XXIII (1959-1963).



many Luso-Americans and Luso-descendent Americas will take holiday time to prepare for the festivities “I saved up some holiday for the feast of the Divine Holy Spirit” (João 2005).

2.1 The strength of the symbols and rituals

A vast lexicon⁹ underpins the web of symbolism that can be read into the rituals of the Divine Feast. Dove, Feast Master, Sunday, Emperor, Brotherhood, Cattle breeders, Alms, ‘Folia’ dance, Functions, Procession (of the coronation), Revellers, Soups, Coronation, Procession of the change of insignia, Crown, Flags of the Divine, Baton, Sceptre, Bull. There are many other words which also reconnect times, places, words and interactions. Below we will detail some of these together with the symbolic attributes conferred on them.

The dove – the most widespread representation of the Divine Holy Spirit. Symbol of creation, beauty, evocative of simplicity, happiness, messenger associated with the gifts of the Divine Holy Spirit, faithfulness to the union, of peace and harmony. It appears above the crown, on the sceptre and on the flag. It is the most important symbol. It is this symbol that devotees wish to kiss and touch, invoking the protection of the Divine with this salutation and demonstrating their devotion.

The crown – symbol of power, perfection, elevation of thought, dignity, grandeur, glory, icon of the festive identity of the celebrations of the Divine Holy Spirit. The crown and the dove are the strongest representation of the veneration of the FDHS. Painted, embroidered into flags or sculpted in silver on top of the baton or the flag staff.

‘Folia’ dance – etymologically derived in Portuguese from the word for ‘fole’, a wind instrument that is squeezed to produce sound. In the FDHS, and according to Moisés Espírito Santo, the ‘folia’ derives from a fast dance danced to the music of the tambourine or timbrel and accompanied by songs. It has “evolved to come to mean a group of men wearing devotional symbols and accompanied by songs (...), celebrating the eves and participating in the votive day” (1988:115). Their red costumes hark back to sacred oriental vestments and are very old.

The baton – symbol of the tutor, extension of the human arm that increases its protective reach and brings it closer to the DHS

The sceptre – symbol of power and authority

The flag – symbol of the union, cohesion, identity, belonging and difference in a community that it reflects

The emperor – central person in the veneration of the DHS. Benefactor who has covered a large share of the expenses incurred by the feast. Chosen by luck, after expressing their willingness to so contribute, a willingness that may result from a promise, thanksgiving or the desire to affirm their personal status within the community. The coronation of the feast master takes place in the church and follows a ritual of strict protocol and great magnificence. The emperor presides over the processions and carries the crown of the FDHS.

Soups – symbol of offerings and community sharing. These are made on the Sunday following the coronation mass and are often preceded by the procession. Public ritual, open to all who wish to participate. Made in many different ways according to the original influences of the island the people are connected with. Bread, wine, meat all go into the soup.

Bull – symbol of strength, fertility, power and sacrifice it is associated with agrarian harvest

⁹ See Helder Mendes, *Description and Critique of the Veneration in Praise of the Divine*, a specific lexicon, op.cit. pp. 35-51. Also, Francisco Ernesto de Oliveira Martins, *Popular Festivals of the Azores*, pp.283-86. Moisés Espírito Santo, op cit., pp.109-162.



cults. “A farmer chose the best beast for this year. It will be the bull for our Divine” (Joao, 2005), bought or donated, its meat is shared in the alms and put into the soups.

The experience of the FDHS centres round the family. The insignia are kept in the homes of the feast makers, one for each of the seven Sundays. On each Sunday these are shared by neighbours, friends, Luso-Americans and Luso-descendent Americans. In the house's reception room we will find the crown on its altar, the flag and the sceptre which is to be kissed, together with the Sunday flag carrying an inscription of one of its blessings. The whole house is made over to receive the insignia that symbolise the Divine Holy Spirit. From Monday to Sunday the house fills up. The participants, on their knees, standing or sitting begin to pray the rosary. Somebody recites the rosary out loud, everybody responds, as if it were a canon. Mystery by mystery they make their offerings, give thanks, make petitions, sing to the Divine, pay promises, The priest of the parish to which the brotherhood belongs also takes part in the worship. This is how the devotions of popular religiosity dovetail into the Catholic religion. At the end, the revellers arrive with their homely violas. They harmonise the singing, to the melody of the accordion, the rhythm of the triangles and tambourines and the voices that intone hymns to the Divine and the owners of the house. They sing songs that everybody knows or offer good-natured improvisations in salutation: “Pray the rosary together / With reason I sing / To wish a good night / To the divine Holy Spirit. And to those who here come / A little of this day / The Holy Spirit may be / Always your companion. May the Divine bless you / All of us alike / And may he also forgive / Those that evil do. Goodbye dove and crown / And our beloved flag / Goodbye father and son that bless / And that accompany us through life. And to whom we mould ourselves/ that which is necessary / And, yet open the door / To enter paradise / Goodbye flag. Goodbye crown / With the same Divinity / Goodbye Third person / Of the Holy Trinity. In love, peace and health / This adored flag / That it shall aid us / Without it we are as nothing” extemporary song of these revellers, on the Sunday of the blessing of Science, after the praying of the rosary (Folião - João, 2005).

The end of the week is dominated by the distribution of alms to the brothers and needy families who receive them as an offering but also, by the departure of the insignia of that Sunday's feast master. The whole family gathers with neighbours and friends who have celebrated the veneration of the Divine with them throughout the week. Together they head off, in a coronation procession, to the Sunday mass where some members of the family will be crowned as boy, girl, children, youths or adults. The Sunday rituals end with the soups. The last week is the week of the FDHS feast master. In his house he keeps the crown from the year in which luck selected him to become FDHS feast master. On the seventh Sunday the Trinity arrives, thus closing out the cycle of festivities of the Empire of the Divine Holy Spirit.

The days of the Holy Trinity are celebrated as from the Friday night. The distribution of alms is accompanied by the insignia of the DHS, “it takes all weekend, as there are many kilometres to be covered in the van, which is always decorated, in order to reach the homes of the receiving families”. The revellers also come along “it seems as if nobody even gets tired” says João (2005).

At the feast ground the feast masters for each of the Sundays, along with their families, get together to renew the celebration of the values imbued in the FDHS and lived throughout the festive cycle. Early in the morning the procession forms up at the door of the house of the feast master. They set off, once again, to the parish church. High mass and more coronations, “these are the people that are going to continue the tradition of the feast,” says Natividade, highlighting the coronation of the children born in America.

And then it is the joy of celebrating the Divine at the table where all gather to eat the soups.



The talk at the table is of the day's emotions, and the conversation spreads through the room and festivity, song and dance fill this time together. Seriousness in devotion and revelry in the rest, and all seems right, all in praise of the Divine. At the end of the afternoon they all meet up in the feast ground. They raise more funds for the brotherhood through the "auctioning" of objects, animals, sweets, lace and embroidery, fulfilling promises made to the Holy Spirit. At the end of the night, lots are drawn to see who will be feast master for the next festivities of the DHS. Those that put their names in the vase generally do so as an act of thanksgiving or on a promise. "Luck is determined by the Divine", says Natividade, the first woman president of the Empire of the Divine Holy Spirit of the Parish of the Divine Holy Spirit of Fall River (in 2005). The FDHS are special occasions on which the Luso-American and Luso-descendent American co-cultures can socialise together. Both share, in a single process of significant contextualisation, experience rituals that attenuate the misunderstandings between Luso-Americans and Luso-descendent Americans, in a feast that allows opportunities for mutual understanding.

However, from the viewpoint of co-cultural conviviality, the important question here is that in this whole experience, the FDHS create a paradoxical situation. For the Luso-Americans, the feast is closely linked to experiences that they left behind by emigrating. However, on celebrating these in America they are returning to and remembering their autobiographical heritage. Rupture and return: a paradox that feeds the FDHS in the USA. For the Luso-descendent Americans, whose co-cultural experience bears the stamp of cultural norms embedded in the American system, the FDHS may be, through the understanding of its symbolic marks and from the understanding of the information communicated and witnessed by the Luso-Americans, an excellent opportunity to understand the roots both of their family and their identity.

3. Overview of the study: a contribution to the study of Luso-American and Luso-descendent American co-cultures

The results of this study were expected to support the thesis that the Festivities of the Divine Holy Spirit activity contribute to the construction of the Luso-American and Luso-descendent American co-cultures. The festivities are an integral part of the ecology of each participant's human spirit, of different co-cultures. They generate inter-comprehension, and are essential to calming the tensions caused by double consciousness.

Thus, we used a case study methodology to interpret the process of the FDHS in the real contexts in which they are lived. The sample consisted of a total of 303 subjects, of which 263 were children between the ages of 5 and 14, organised into various groups according to the following criteria: they were all born in the USA and had all reached a certain educational level. The other group consisted of 40 adults between the ages of 23 and 88, with an average age of 51. Two criteria informed the selection of this group: an Azorean origin and emigration to the USA more than 30 years ago.



Fig. 2 shows the study sample graphically

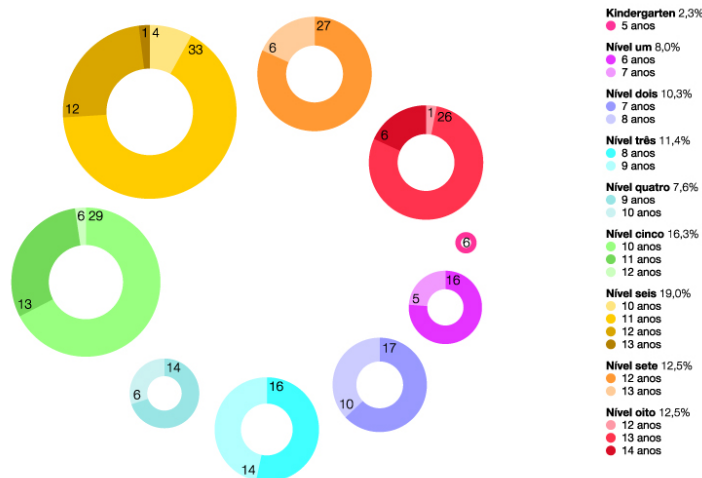
Constituição e organização da amostra do estudo Crianças + Adultos



For the purposes of data collection and analysis we organised and grouped the children according to age, level of educational attainment, number of children with the same characteristics and the relative weighting of each group in the whole sample of 263. This gave us nine groups distributed in the following manner:

Fig 3

Constituição e organização da amostra do estudo Agrupamento de crianças



Makeup and organisation of the study sample Children's groups

Kindergarten
5 years old

Level one
6 years old
7 years old

Level two
7 years old
8 years old

Level three
8 years old
9 years old

Level four
9 years old
10 years old

Level five
10 years old
11 years old
12 years old

Level six
10 years old
11 years old
12 years old
13 years old

Level seven
12 years old
13 years old

Level eight
12 years old
13 years old
14 years old

We used questionnaires to survey the ideas the children in the groups in Fig.3 have of the FDHS. The questionnaire contained multiple choice and semi-open questions in English. It was filled in individually by each child in their classroom in two Fall River schools.

Information was collected from the adults through a semi-open scripted interview designed to record their views on the FDHS. These interviews were carried out during the festive cycle. Portuguese was used with the older subjects and Portuguese and English with the younger ones.

The resulting contents of these adult interviews were categorised using a set of nine dimensions and fifty-one categories. Some categories were, however, constructed a posteriori on the basis of the contributions made by this group. The results will be presented as calculated percentages in function of the number of answers which allude to the dimension and analysis category in question.

Due to space limitations, we will only report. here, the results obtained from the Luso-American adults.



3.1 Results from the adult group

The group had a variety of professional occupations, with equal proportions working in the industrial and services sectors. There was also a wide range of educational attainment, with some having higher education qualifications but with most having completed basic schooling only. Family size ranged from 2 to 10.

The majority of adults came from the Azores (82.6%) and a minority (17.4%) from the United States of America. Age at immigration varied from two to twenty-seven.

In terms of experiencing the festivities, most had participated in the feast since childhood and more than half had been crowned. Crowning ages varied. Most were crowned as children, although some were recorded as having been crowned at more than sixty and three at more than seventy. Some had never been crowned. Of those that had been crowned feelings centred on the emotions involved: *I can't explain it. It's a divine force. A great feeling. I cried with the emotion. Something emotional and very special. I felt great joy. I felt that I had stepped up in the liturgical hierarchy. I felt like a princess, even though only for a few minutes. I remember it was important; I received the blessing of the Divine Holy Spirit. I felt happy, full of joy.*

Participation in the feast: Less than half of the respondents had already belonged to a FDHS committee. Five noted that preparation for the festivities began when: *the previous one finished. A year before. Even On the First Sunday of Pentecost.* Some of the respondents did not say who, or which identity, organises the festivities. Most answered: *The Organising Committee, made up of thirteen members. The Club committee. The feast masters' committee. Feast masters elected by the people.* Some referred to the tasks involved in preparing the festivities and stated that they had carried out all these functions. Of those respondents who have, or had, organising responsibilities for the FDHS, a minority mentioned the importance of preparatory meetings for the festivities. These were deemed important for: *deciding the programme and defining tasks, going over ideas, doing accounts and organising. My father was emperor and wanted everything to go well. Exchange ideas for a better organisation. Think about and organise tasks. To prevent mistakes and leave with respect, love and charity. To draw up the programme for the revellers' route. To prepare food. To prepare with time for everything.* In terms of positions held in the FDHS, only a few respondents mentioned holding, or having held, a position – *Butcher, Feast master, Secretary, in one of the years. Reveller. Organising responsibilities. President of the DHS brotherhood.*

Regarding their links to the FDHS, most respondents affirmed the connection: *earn the respect of others and recoup the strength to go to work.* They attached much importance to all the aspects of the FDHS we looked at. In the main, they saw the festivities as an opportunity to *socialise together with the community; do good; and see the others happy.*

As regards the relationship they have with the FDHS, the great majority observed that their participation in the feast had to do with: *Faith; feeling happy; a way of thanking the Divine grace.* Most also thought that they took part because: *The family likes it; it is for getting protection or asking the Divine Holy Spirit for help; fulfil a promise; have a good time.* The majority also *deny that taking part is to do with eating well; and many participate because they were invited.*

In terms of their feelings for the Festivities of the Divine Holy Spirit, most noted the happiness they felt - *I feel happy.* A smaller majority said: *What joy! I have to do with this! I feel strong and It is the blessing of the Holy Spirit.*

In terms of their impressions on socialising with other FDHS participants, they mentioned: that *The Divine Holy Spirit is part of daily life; It is a joy for all; and Faith, devotion, food, 'folia' are all part of the Divine Holy Spirit.*



Regarding the coronation, most believe that *it is to receive the blessings of the Divine Holy Spirit; the FDHS bring happiness to all who participate in them.*

As regards sharing being a value of the FDHS, most think that *on feast days people count more on helping each other. Their pretext people doing good.*

Many of the respondents were of the opinion that the most important experiences of the festivities are, in first place, the *happiness of having the Divine in the home. Followed by kissing the flag and the sceptre; decorating the altar of the Divine; and the happiness of helping others; donating things to be auctioned; the coronation; taking part in processions; feeling sad when the insignia of the Divine leave the house; meeting people at the Soups of the Divine.*

Also, *selling raffle tickets to raise funds; directing the festive rituals; decorating the hall for the soups of the Divine; serving the soups of the Divine at table; who has the insignia of the Divine has its protection.* Less popular answers included: *wanting to be crowned, preparing the meat for the alms and gifts; distributing the alms; using holidays from work to help prepare the festivities; blessing the calves; decorating the empire for the days of Trinity.* The least frequently expressed answers included *offering to be feast master; be a reveller musician; get angry when someone doesn't meet a commitment they made.*

Amongst the songs of the FDHS, the most meaningful is the “Hymn of the Divine Holy Spirit”. Also mentioned were the “Little Dove” and the “Revellers”.

More than half of the respondents gave different answers to the question about the values associated with the DHS: *Keep people united; Divinity; Faith and Hope; Patience; Wisdom; Charity; Joy; Science; Patience; Love; Forgiveness; Crown; 1st—Wisdom; 2nd—Understanding; 3rd—Advice; 4th—Strength; 5th—Science; 6th—Piety; 7th—Fear of God; Charity; Wisdom, Understanding, Joy, Understanding, Wisdom, Forgiveness. I don't remember any more.*

Respondents explained what the Divine Holy Spirit means to them, sometimes referring to their connection to it and their view of it as a religious entity. Less than half alluded to the concept of the Holy Spirit: *It is the third person of the Holy Trinity.* Most expressed individual opinions as to what the Holy Spirit means to them: *For me the Holy Spirit is a Sacred Blessing. It is an important part of my religion. It is Portuguese people getting together and being with their families. It is everything in my life. It is a divinity that gives me strength in suffering. My life. It is the Third Person of the Most Holy Trinity that comes from the Father and the Son. Everything related to sanctifying souls is attributed to the Holy Spirit. It is the inspiration of the prophets and the holy writings and the intervention of God in the governance of the Church. A thanks from God that we might do him good. Charity, Hope. Faith. It is what gives us the strength to live. It brings people closer together.*

The general opinion is that the Holy Spirit is not vengeful.

What is the most important ritual of the feast? Amongst the answers given, we highlight: *The Luso-American meeting. Coronation, the procession, the 'folia'. Celebrations in August in Kennedy Park that bring together groups from New England, California, Canada and even The Azores. The time of crowning the feast master because, for me, the Divine Holy Spirit is giving him the blessing he asked for. Whoever helps the poor is lending to God. Distribution of alms. The coronation and the feast ground. Coronation, blessing of the Divine. Coronation.*

4. Final comments

From the descriptive analysis above we can see that the FDHS are, for their celebrants, the Luso-Americans, an experience of coming together at both the individual and collective level. This is the basis for the co-construction of heritages existential to those that celebrate them,



helping to make it easier to live with the co-cultural double consciousness that they possess. The FDHS are an opportunity to simultaneously celebrate the rupture imposed by emigration and the return to their origins. For Luso-descendent Americans the FDHS represent the possibility of unearthing the co-cultural roots of their families, confronting them with their frameworks of Luso-descendent American co-culture, recognising and understanding the values that they have in common. Despite the differences between American and Portuguese cultural frameworks, some of the more significant features may be traced out, features which integrate, in their way, the unique universe of the FDHS and the process of co-cultural construction of Luso-Americans as well as, although with substantial differences, in the Luso-descendent American co-culture.

The pioneer spirit, entrepreneurship, deep religiosity based on Protestantism, the feeling that all is possible, the practice of local community solidarity, the sensation of being winners and faith in the market are all indentifying features of the American cultural framework. Ease of improvisation, catholic religiosity, distrust of the market, the feeling of local community solidarity, fragile or practically inexistent entrepreneurship, passive pioneering based on the memory of historic accomplishments during the time of the discoveries and the pessimistic outlook of their native land in which opportunity is increasingly linked to tourism and leisure are identifying features, still today, of the Portuguese cultural framework.

That is, the FDHS offer a privileged opportunity to bring these framework features of the two cultures together. They inform the process of co-cultural construction and empower the affirmation of Luso-American identity. They also favour the wellbeing and balance of the double consciousness and mutual understanding between Luso-Americans and Luso-descendent Americans.

We would like to point out some general conclusions arising from the analysis of the data collected in interviews with the Luso-Americans who participated in this study.

As the FDHS are *"a joy for everybody"*, *"part of everyday life"* they are also, thus, a cohesive factor. The Luso-Americans we interviewed rejoice with the experience of the rituals of collective festive celebration: *"Keeping people together more and simultaneously individual happiness. It is wellbeing. It is self-esteem"*. The FDHS are an opportunity for the expression of religiosity: *"devotion is to have the blessing of the Divine. The joy of having the Divine in the house. Kiss the flag and the sceptre. Decorate the altar of the Divine. We thank the Divine for the graces it offers us, fulfil promises. Organise the empire for the days of the Trinity"*. They are also, however, an opportunity to celebrate the catholic religion they profess and make the following statements: *"it is the Third Person of the most Holy Trinity that comes from the Father and the Son"*. *"The Holy Spirit is all that relates to the sanctification of souls"*. *"It is the inspiration of the prophets and the holy writings and the intervention of God in the governance of the Church"*. *"It is an important part of my religion"*. *"It is the strength to practice the blessings of the Holy Spirit"*. *"Divinity, Faith and Hope; Wisdom, Understanding, Counsel; Strength; Science, Piety, Fear of God"*. *"A thanks from God that we might do him good."*

Through the FDHS, Luso-Americans realise the offering in full: *"there is so much work but it doesn't tire us"*. *"I even felt like I am not ill"*. *"It's a joy to help others"*. *"Prepare the meat for the alms and offerings"*. *"Distributing alms"*. *"Using holidays from work to help prepare the festivities, helping the poor lend to God"*.

The Holy Spirit is mainly thought of as being a protector: *"the Divine is not vengeful"*. *"When you don't fulfil, but it forgives"*. *"For me the Holy Spirit is a Sacred Blessing"*. *"It is everything in my life"*. *"It is a divinity that gives me strength in suffering"*. *"It is my life"*. *"Charity, hope, faith"*. *"It is what gives us the strength to live"*. *"It is my devotion"*. *"It is God"*. *"Divinity. Whoever has the insignia of the Divine has its protection"*.



The interviews also show the esteem in which the coronation is held, alluding to feelings of happiness and linking it to the power of the Divine: *"it can't be explained"*. *"It is a divine force"*. *"A great feeling"*. *"I cried with the emotion"*. *"Something emotional and very special"*: *"I felt a great joy"*. *"I felt that I had stepped up in the liturgical hierarchy"*. *"I felt like a princess, even if only for a few minutes"*. *"I remember that it was important to receive the blessings of the Divine Holy Spirit"*. *"I felt so happy, full of joy"*.

The main associations made in thinking about the FDHS are to devotion and the 'folia', to each meeting the group and the group meeting each one in an essential conviviality: *"we had a good time"*. *"The joy of seeing everyone at the table eating the soups"*. *"The sharing of food, 'folia', and the coronation are all part of the Divine Holy Spirit"*. *"The family likes it"*. *"The procession, the 'folia', playing with each other"*. *"The FDHS are the Portuguese getting together, being with their family and their children who are now more American than Portuguese"*. *"Our children like it and we talk"*.

Finally, and despite the limitations of the study in terms of the quantity and range of ages of the subjects, we can confirm the thesis that we defend: the FDHS in the USA are an integral part of the ecology of the human spirit in each of those who participate in them. They form essential processes of communication, learning and change that actively contribute to the construction of the Luso-American and Luso-descendent American co-cultures. Thus we see the FDHS as a unique lived heritage common to both Luso-Americas and Luso-descendent Americans that generate inter-understanding and contribute to harmonising the tensions that emerge from the double consciousness created by the different socialisation processes in the two co-cultures.

This work is merely a contribution to the wider study of the FDHS from the perspective of the processes of co-cultural construction which, in its accomplishment, requires a measure of support.

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